1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'laŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"'gəla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gəm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

" *Op. cit.*, 12.

[P.372, A]

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ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

(2562-2564)

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There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few
224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and
789 sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing:
[533] 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
[237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were
[136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.
[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
224 There was, however, a special leader who directed
624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

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person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

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Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

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Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

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It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

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The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

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1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

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Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

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It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

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Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

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One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

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The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[3] [footnote appears on p. 93 — Analyst]

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 24]) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

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464 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned
● 484 trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque
[517] sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Tota' peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	85	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[Cott continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

N W 171

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(*Concluded on next page*)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 2—*(Continued)*

Tribes—*(Continued)*	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	25
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATURES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8